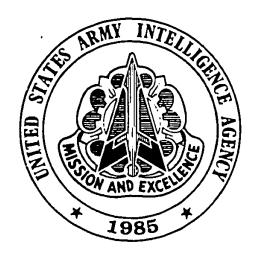
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US ARMY INTELLIGENCE AGENCY FOREIGN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY CENTER



INITIATIVE REPORT

CHINESE FORCE PLANNING FOR THE YEAR 2000: THE STRATEGIC RATIONALE FOR SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL MODERNIZATION (U)

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CHINES FORCE PLANNING FOR THE YEAR 2000: THE STRATEGIC RATIONALE FOR SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL MODERNIZATION (U)

AUTHOR

5 USC 552 (b) (6)

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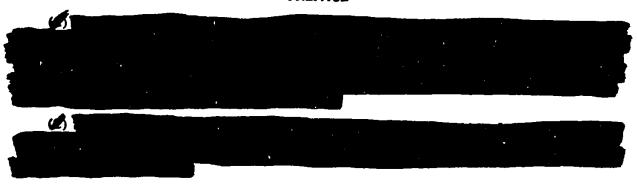
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PREFACE



(U) Constructive comments, criticisms, or suggested changes are encouraged, and should be forwarded to the Commander, US Army Foreign Science and Technology Center, 220 Seventh Street, NE., Charlottesville, VA 22901-5396 (ATTN: AIFPO).

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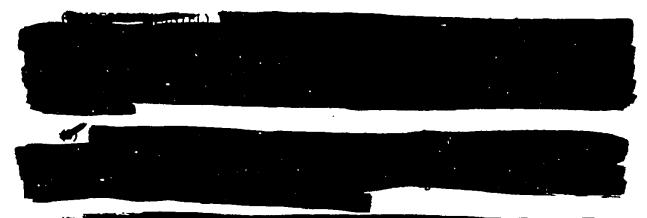
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SUMMARY

(6) The Chinese People's Liberation Army (PLA) has been reevaluating its doctrine and strategy to accommodate changes in the political, economic, and technological environment.

(0) Chief among these is that the increased lethality of nuclear and large-scale conventional war makes these types of warfare less likely in the future.

. At the same time, the priority given to economic construction has prompted PLA leaders to concentrate on refurbishing their military industrial infrastructure and on raising professional standards of the remaining forces. Consequently, the PLA has promoted the study of foreign military methods, selective importation of weapon systems, and production of weapons for export.



. This action may hinder the PLA from accomplishing the objectives described in the report. To the extent that Western responses to the incidents in Tienanmen Square inhibits access to trade and technology, the PLA has compromised its own force modernization objectives. The problems facing the PLA, however, remain urgent.

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1. Introduction (U)



e. PLA leaders have initiated high priority programs for technology transfer and the long-term refurbishment of the indigenous industrial base through technology transfer agreements with other countries. The PLA is acquiring specific pieces of equipment to upgrade their current inventory. Improvement will be gradual; they will be unable to match the Soviets in the quality of weapons before the year 2000.

f. (6-1010) The PLA is also reinvigorating advanced educational institutions for theoretical studies

It is raising the stature of professional training and technical competence in the officer corps

Senior PLA leaders have strongly advocated that the military academies modify courses on doctrine and strategy which reflect the technological changes that will radically alter the future battlefield

Field officers add credibility to the courses on strategy

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by referring to their own combat experience examples from their own combat experience. They also advise researchers who analyze information on foreign technological, organizational, and operational modifications on new weapon systems.

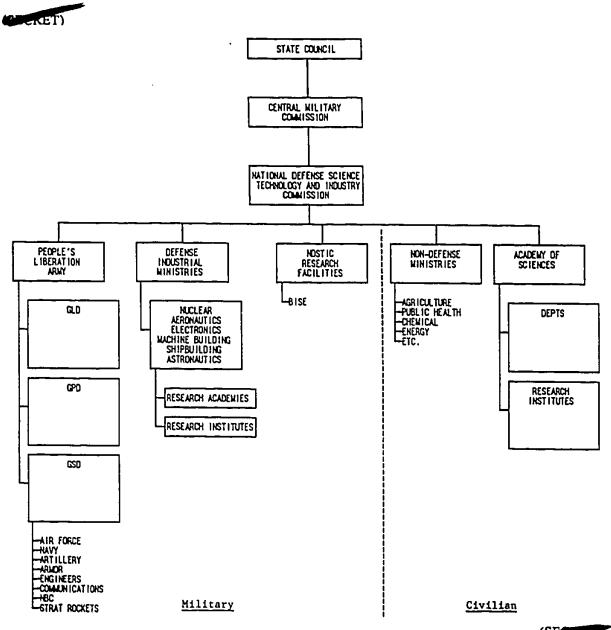


Figure 1. (U) Military and Civilian Defense Related Organizations

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- The "Year 2000" Report and Defense Modernization Policy (U)
 - Key Concepts Contained in the "Year 2000" Report (U).



The previous Maoist strategy of people's war had required the political, economic, and military mobilization of the masses to augment the regular forces in a protracted war on Chinese territory. Current PLA leaders have adopted the formula of people's war under modern conditions to justify innovations in the organization and purposes of the armed forces. The reformulated strategy of active defense involves quick response and forward projection of troops which provides a better defense of China's industrial facilities than the previous people's war strategy, which had allowed territorial incursions followed by mass mobilization and protracted defense in depth.

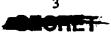
- (3) (0-1101-014) elements of the principles of people's war under modern conditions to maintain continuity and political orthodoxy. It specifies five functions:
 - Prevent the outbreak of war and preserve peace.

(2) (3'7701

- Guide combat operations to fully exploit the power of people's war.
- Guide defense modernization to build up a powerful people's army.
- Guide the study of military science to develop companion tactics for people's war.
- Promote the development of science and technology to stimulate the growth of the national economy.



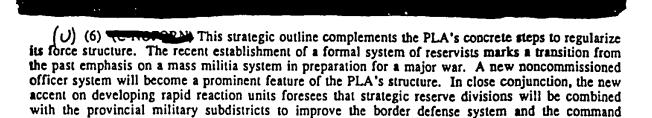
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structure.



(U) (7) (STATE WATER ED) The Chinese are reevaluating the probability of a Soviet attack in Asia. They are now adopting a less confrontational stance along the Sino-Soviet border, partly in response to limited Soviet force reductions and partly out of a general objective to establish stable relations with both the United States and the USSR for the sake of domestic economic development. Moreover, the perceived strategic stalemate base of the superpowers has provided time to construct a viable economic base with which to suppo. Weapon modernization program. Lack of armed conflict for a lengthy period has not led the Crimese to alter their fundamental perception that the Soviet Union, being a potentially hostile "hegemonic" power, will remain the major strategic threat. At the same time, the lessons of the campaigns against Vietnam and India have spurred the Chinese to restructure and redeploy their forces, and to emphasize combined-arms and mobile troop units. However, high level debates on the suitability of these proposed changes in doctrine and strategy continue.

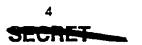
b. Development and Implementation of Concepts (U).

(U) (1) (DATE NOTE: The PLA is interested in foreign force structure models, such as US, NATO, and Soviet lightly equipped and rapidly deployable assault units and joint service forces. The PLA is consequently testing these force structures to develop smaller, specialized units to engage in mobile surprise operations. In this way, the field commanders must learn how to switch quickly from defensive to offensive modes of combat and to employ high-technology weapons in diverse operational environments.

For example, in the 19 September 1986 edition of the Liberation Army Dajly (LAD), the Chengdu Military Region Commander Zhang Taiheng published, an essay entitled "Determining the Objective Is a Question of First Importance in the Study of Campaign Theory." Whereas previous PLA strategy had focused on the destruction of the enemy's main forces on the battlefield, Zhang maintained that in the future the emphasis should be on eliminating the enemy's ability to conduct in-depth operations. On 5 June 1987, in an article entitled "Combining a Streamlined Army with a Powerful Reserve Force," he noted that defense mobilization for future wars requires highly integrated civilian and military resources. In the event of a need for national mobilization, the CMC has prepared plans to activate regular and reserve troops. Given the environment of the interlocked battlefield, where there will be no clear distinction between front and rear operations, reserves trained in special tactical operations will function as vital components in support of main-force joint-service army operations.

(3) (and the strategy) In this endeavor to rework doctrine and strategy, ground-force field commanders are providing defense research analysts with realistic scenarios to support research and wargaming. The ideas derived from these experiences may become embodied in the strategic concepts which will influence subsequent decisions on the production and deployment of

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arms.

3. Evolving PLA Military Theory (U)

a. Evolution of People's War Doctrine (U).

(1) (Rather than preparing for an imminent nuclear war, the PLA is now focusing on regional, small-scale, low-intensity conflicts.

The

variety of battlefield situations which the PLA has encountered against Vietnam and India has convinced the Chinese of the growing lethality of small-scale conventional warfare. These experiences have not only given the PLA more opportunities to field test units under new combat conditions, but also have highlighted areas of persistent logistical and equipment weaknesses.

Yu called for a realistic understanding of the laws and conduct of war. He maintained that in those instances where the people's war doctrine does not meet the future needs of the PLA, it must either be supplemented with new ideas and methods or be partially discarded. He explicitly rejected the mass mobilization strategy of defense in depth associated with people's war in favor of a forward line of defense that utilizes mechanized forces.

- (3) (U) Later that year, Defense Minister Xu Xiangqian asserted that, because science and technology are redefining the shape of future wars, the PLA must improve its inferior technological position. He cautioned, however, that without a proper doctrinal foundation to direct military modernization, the PLA could find itself in a position similar to that of the French before World War II. The French had modern weapons, but lacking an appropriate doctrine, the commanders were unable to resist the German offensive. This example was meant to convince PLA leaders of the need to overhaul Mao's doctrine and make it serviceable in the changed strategic circumstances.
- (4) The acknowledged need to overhaul strategy led in 1985 to an examination on how to improve the quality of strategic research in military academies. Confusion stemmed from reliance on broad generalizations, an unwillingness to deviate from Mao's strategic thought, an absence of systematic and rigorous methods of analysis, a tendency to overrate the usefulness of Chinese classical military thought, limited information exchanges among universities, and a hesitation to incorporate foreign ideas.
- (5) To break the grip of convention, several reforms were proposed. Rather than use philosophical and ideological approaches to military research, analysts were to use scientifically-based methods. The R&D centers were to facilitate this transition by introducing modern research tools such as computers. The strategic community was encouraged to exchange ideas with foreign scholars and military men and to develop working relationships with foreign military institutions. Members of this community needed to institute links encompassing both research institutes and active military units in the research process to increase the interchange of knowledge and ideas.
- (6) (Setting aside the extreme elements of people's war, the PLA initiated inquiries in the fields of national strategy, military strategy, the renovation of the defense industrial sector, and the development of the armed forces. For the products of these new endeavors in military research to have a discernible impact on force structure, deployment, training, and combat operations, then the military research institutions must establish viable roles as policy-makers and advisory organs to the

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CMC and various PLA headquarters.

- (7) (U) In August 1987 a symposium on Mao's military thought was noteworthy for its conspicuously muted references to doctrinaire Marxist-Leninism. The participants called for a creative blend of Mao's military doctrine with the current technical advances. The newly espoused openness to Western scientific and technological improvements was primarily valued for its utility in attaining the goal of a strong self-sufficient national defense industry. Though references to Mao were subdued, Deng Xiaoping's military reform program was praised for embodying the correct relationship between ideological conformity and modernization.
- (8) (U) These threads of doctrinal continuity cannot conceal the noticeable shift of recent writings away from the precepts of people's war. The PLA's leaders initially espoused a revised concept of people's war under modern conditions because they realized that, for an effective restructuring of the armed forces, PLA doctrine must be compatible with its material resources and personnel capabilities. This compromise with Maoist doctrine may well be insufficient to deal with the types of changes dictated by the advances in military technology. In July 1987, to commemorate the 60th anniversary of the founding of the PLA, the former Defense Minister Zhang Aiping wrote an article stating that the PLA needed a clearly defined, long-term program for training group armies and developing defense technology and weaponry. Such an extended commitment of people and resources to modernization will require the PLA to produce palpable results that enhance deterrence.
- (9) in September 1987 an LAD article entitled "Reform Is the Only Way Out for the Modernization of Our Army" distinguished between valid and erroneous elements of the Maoist legacy. Erroneous elements included mass mobilization for military preparedness and the antagonistic contradiction between revolution and the development of modern weaponry. According to the article, these errors stalled the development of conventional arms technology and vitiated the morale and professional standards of the PLA.

The appearance of group armies and rapid deployment units attests to the development of functionally specific roles for troops based on the technological capabilities of modern weapon systems.

(10) (CANODERT) The attempt to separate the Party and administrative tasks within the command structure is hindered at all organizational levels of the PLA by the pervasive political commissar system. This system is supposed to enforce subordination of the professional military to the Party. Some veteran Party cadres now, however, fear that the deemphasis of ideological criteria has contributed to a perfunctory attitude toward political indoctrination. The test will be whether the political commissars will confine themselves to the role of overseeing troop morale and mission, or whether they again become engaged in subordinating military questions to political judgments. The public emphasis on the acquisition of technical expertise to raise professional standards still must contend with the ingrained bias of a dual command system in which final authority has often rested with the political authorities.

 $(11) \bullet$

Nevertheless, the

underlying tension concerning the roles of politics and technology, the commissar and the technocrat. cannot be dismissed as irrelevant to the way in which the PLA will conduct future combat operations. Because the commissar system is so entrenched in the Chinese political order, no matter how

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compelling the apparently objective criteria for pragmatic reforms may be, their prospects for success are fraught with uncertainty, given the power of vested political interests.

(12) In March and May 1988, first vice-minister of the CMC, Zhao Ziyang gave two important addresses concerning reform of the military system and defining "army building," what the US Army would call force development.

Znao's speech to the CMC reform forum in March aumoritatively stated that henceforth the PLA was to consider armed forces modernization as the core and military training as the focal point. He declared that the people's war concepts espoused by Mao and the late Defense Minister Lin Biao were no longer applicable to strategic military thinking. According to a May article in the Hong Kong paper Wen Wei Po. Zhao stated that the Ministry of National Defense (MND) should restructure the functions of its decision-making organs so that they could do substantive work. On the issue of force structure, he urged the establishment of group armies characterized by speed and flexibility, a fact which supports the contention that the Chinese are preparing a rapid response strategy to counter local wars.

b. Reform in Methods of Military Modernization (U).

institutes are attempting to justify the governmental policy of increasing the creation of cooperative relationships with foreign governments and firms for the acquisition of advanced weapons to supplement and to improve domestic defense industrial production capabilities. Even if they are effective in gaining access to technology, the institutes will still suffer from the Chinese proclivity to overestimate their ability to produce complex technological equipment if they are merely given instructions or a prototype.

Although in the late 1970's, Chinese military leaders were initially very interested in acquiring advanced weapon technology, realistic budget constraints have prevented them from following through. China's defense industrial import-export corporations selectively import advanced armaments and high technology prototypes. The PLA is taking an incremental approach toward incorporating these improvements, because the authorities in charge of the defense industries want to upgrade their production capacity without becoming reliant on foreign sources of materials. This preoccupation with achieving self-sufficiency stems from a desire to avoid repeating the experiences of the abrupt Soviet pullout in 1960.

The emphasis on developing the economy has adversely affected the PLA. By 1988 roughly 1 million men had been demobilized, reducing the army to 2 300 000. The ground forces may undergo further cuts until the PLA leaders have attained a balance between the proficiency of the troops and the capabilities of the weapons.

To achieve its goal of unit readiness, the PLA has been engaging the troops in extensive training exercises. However, a significant problem has arisen from the policy of maintaining a peaceful international environment for economic development. Given the lack of an imminent threat, preparations for a mid-intensity regional conflict rather than a large scale nuclear engagement are hampered by the difficulty of instilling a sense of mission among the troops. For instance, PLA ground forces have recently reported that group army winter training maneuvers have

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not been conducted smoothly because the officers and troops did not perceive a direct threat to national security.

4. Conclusion (U)

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. The new emphasis on this form of combat indicates a real change in the PLA's perspective. The Chinese are involved in such a redefinition of their strategic orientation and focus partly because of pressing domestic needs and partly because of the changing international environment. There are strong grounds to believe that the national policy of economic revitalization in the civilian and defense sectors is being used to justify this revamping of doctrine and strategy. Furthermore, their study of the trends in international conflict has apparently convinced the Chinese that their scarce resources should be applied mainly to preparing for local and regional conflicts. The acquisition of foreign technology is crucial; however, Chinese defense analysts appear to regard the proper coordination of doctrine and hardware as a prerequisite for an effective defense policy.

The continued low budget appropriations for the military signal that the PLA's efforts will be directed toward long-term scientific and technological R&D rather than toward the purchase of expensive foreign arms. The PLA has entered the international arms market to earn hard currency ostensibly to improve its indigenous production facilities. To a significant extent the technological superiority of its potential adversaries' conventional weapons compels the PLA to weigh carefully the options for arms development, procurement, and deployment. The resultant decisions will indicate the extent to which the PLA services, in the implementation of their missions, have progressed from the strategic assumptions and practices of people's war through its revision in people's war under modern conditions to an awareness of the need for a more dynamic strategy in response to the ongoing technological revolution in weapons development.

It remains to be seen whether the multiplicity of material resources and the rationalization of the defense industrial sector will actually produce a more coherent and flexible approach to planning for future war.

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APPENDIX

DEFENSE RESEARCH INSTITUTIONS INVOLVED IN THE "YEAR 2000" REPORT (FIG 2) (U)

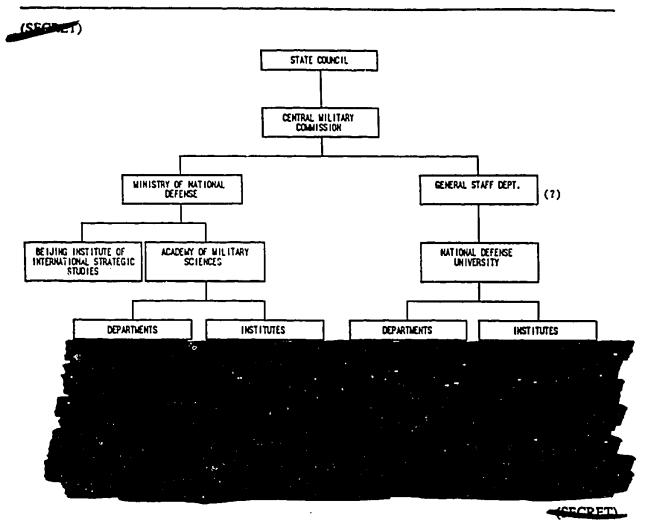
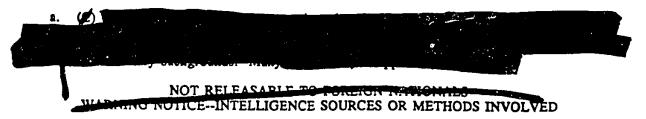


Figure 2. (U) Chinese Defense Research Institutions

1. Academy of Military Sciences (U)



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In contrast to the former director of the AMS (Song Shilun, who was a firm proponent of Mao's strategic thought), Zheng Wenhan supports a rigorous and systematic approach to the study of modern military doctrine. During his trip to the United States in 1980, he sought to expand professional military contacts and to incorporate pertinent American defense organizational methods.

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2. National Defense University (NDU) (U)

a. (6 110 PONN WNINTEL) On 1 September 1986, the PLA Military, Logistics, and Political Academies merged to form the NDU. The Commandant is General Zhang Zhen, who had been the PLA Deputy Chief of Staff. Like Zheng Wenhan of the AMS, Zhang Zhen favors a more professional approach to military doctrine and strategy. His background as both the deputy commandant and commandant of the Nanjing Military Academy, the nation's foremost training institute, led him to call in 1981 for the introduction of foreign training methods, computers, and simulators.

6

b. (SD, and the CMC on military affairs.) The NDU trains senior officers and advises the State Council, the

By granting master's

and doctoral degrees in military strategy, the PLA aims to raise the quality of the officer corps.

c. (5 - 10 - 11 - 12 - 12) The ISS examines issues concerning the development of national military strategies and advises the CMC and the GSD on policy alternatives.

d. (C. 1888) More so than the AMS, the ISS stresses the study of national security plans in an international political, economic, and military context.

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From the viewpoint of Deputy Director Zhou Borong in 1986, the concept of active defense is an operational guide embodying people's war, which remains a credible underlying principle despite new circumstances. Slowly the military research community is convincing the PLA leadership to accept a rapid response strategy to deal with local wars.

3. Beijing Institute of International Strategic Studies (BIISS) (U)

a. (Section And Action 2015) The BIISS plays an ambiguous, yet significant, role in the GSD and MAC decision-making process. It is an academic body that sponsors research on international strategic questions.

b. (CANCENTAGE) The former President of the BIISS, Wu Xuechian, was the Foreign Minister until April 1988; Xu Xin, the Vice Chairman, is the Deputy Chief of the GSD. Xu Yimin, the Secretary General, was formerly the military attache to the Chinese Embassy in the United States and head of the Chinese delegation to the UN Military Staff Committee.

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A020 3480 TCHTW/TTVLSA	B785 DIA/JS1-2	C632 CHEMICAL CENTER
A024 DEF NUCLEAR AGENCY	B786 DIA/DB-1H	C633 ORDNANCE CTR & SCIL
A086 NAT DEF UNIV(SCDC)	B789 DIA/DB-1111	C635 USA ADA CMBT DEVEL
A102 OUSDP	B820 DIA/DIA REP JEWC	C639 CMBT&TNG DEV DIR
A124 OSD/OUSDP/NA	B823 DIA/DIA REP SHAPE	C642 USAAVNDTA
A128 SDIO	B824 DIA/DIA REP SAC	C646 CACDA
A152 OUSD(A)OD PI-SP	B829 DIA REP FORSCOM	C667 USAJEKSWC (4)
A153 OSDAUSDA (C3I) (2)		C683 INTEL CTR&SCH
A154 OSD/DDDR&E (R&AT) (5)	US ARMY	C684 USAISD (2)
A157 OUSDRE (DDT&E)		C697 USA TEST&EVAL COMD
A246 JCS/J-3 (JOD)	C020 DCS-OPS & PLANS	C700 CTF BUILTS
A253 JCS/J-3(STRAT OPS)	C030 CH RD&A	C715 ARMOR CENTER
A275 JOINT WARFARE CTR	C065 USAITIC-PAC	C747 AIARE
A310 JCS/J-3 SPECOPSDIV	C202 III CORPS	C749 HOATA
A315 JCS/J-8	C207 LIMRES	C763 HODA DAMI-FIT
A326 JCS/J-3 STOD	C227 101ST AIRBORNE DIV	C768 ITAC (LIBRARY) (3)
A330 JCS/J-36 STRAT OFF	C231 2ND ARM DIV	C788 HODA DAMLEUS (3)
A340 JCS/J-5 MIL SEC	C232 3RD ARM CAV REGT	CRO1 SIXTH US ARMY
A344 JCS/J-5 (DDS&P SD)	C233 AF-TCAF	CRI3 70IST MI BDF
A353 JSTPS (2)	C234 IST CAV DIV	C831 ITAC-WPD-MODELS BR
A363 USNMR SHAPE	C235 1ST INF DIV	C832 ITAC-WPD_OPS BP
A365 US DEL (UN MSC)	C241 FIRST US ARMY	C833 ITAC-WPD-STRAT RP
A368 USRMC/NATO	C242 US FORCES COMMAND	C834 ITAC-WPD-TACTIC RP
,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,	C246 6TH CAV BDF(AC)	C841 ITAC-ID-WPN SVS RR
DIA	C248 FOURTH US ARMY	C848 ITAC-CITD-ASSES RP
E-11.3	C300 ATH INF DIV (L)	CO-O TIAC-CTID-ASSES BR
B004 DIA/DI-1	C305 18TH ARN CORPS	IIS NAVY
BOO6 DIA/DR-BT	C307 24TH INF DIV (M)	<u> </u>
BO40 DIA/DIO	C309 500TH MIG	D002 OP-81/DNM0/CNA
B054 DIA/DT-4A	C314 513TH ML BDE (2)	D058 OP-06/PL POL & OPS
B060 DIA/RTS-2A5 PENT	C320 197TH INF BDE(S)	DISO CMC (INTP)
B079 DIA/DIC-2C (2)	C348 453D MID (STRAT)	D153 PACMISTESTOEN
BO80 DIA/NWS	C364 HO FT DEVENS	DISA NAVSTKWARCEN
B126 DIA/DX-2 (GROUND)	C395 INSCOM SAA	D202 NAVWARCOL
B131 DE	C400 10TH MTN DIV (5)	D217 NAVWPNCEN
B132 DIA/VP-AS1	C414 4TH INF DIV	D246 NAVSWC (2)
B140 DIA/DE-1 GROUND	C415 5TH INF DIV (M)	D249 NAVPGSCOL
B150 DT	C419 9TH INF DIV	D263 NOSC
B159 DIA/DT-5A1	C428 OP TEST&EVAL AGCY	D605 COMSPAWARSYSCOM
B163 DIA/DT-5B	C440 USAFS BERLIN	D660 NMITC
B169 DIA/DT-2D	C459 COMD-GEN STF COL	D900 NAVOPINTCEN
B170 DIA/DT-5B2	C460 ENGINEER SCH	D902 NAVOPINTCEN DET NP
B345 DIA/RTS-2C(VJ)	C461 INFANTRY CENTER	D971 DNIAOP-092
B361 DLA/DB-1B1A	C470 ARMY WAR COL	
. B363 DIA/DB-1B1B	C500 TRADOC	US AIR FORCE
B364 DIA/DB-1B1C	C509 BALLISTIC RES LAB	
B366 DIA/DB-1D4	C512 ARMY MATERIEL CMD	E016 HO AFIA/INIA
B535 DIA/DB-TPO2	C513 ARDEC	E017 USAF/INA9RAND-W)
B537 DLA/DB-TPO	C516 USA RESEARCH INST	E018 USAF-INA (RAND-C) (2)
B549 DIA/DB-PDO	C521 ELECTRONIC PG	E021 DET 1 AFIA
B551 DIA/DB-SPO/P	C522 YUMA PG	E100 TAC-480 RTG/INPPD (90)
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B602 DIA/OSC-6B	C535 AVIATION SYS CMD	E303 HO AFIA/INKI
B679 DIA/DB-ADAPT	C538 WHITE SANDS MSI, RG	E317 AFCSA/SAMI
B710 DIA/DX-4A1	C539 TRADOC ANALYSISCOM (2)	E401 AF LOG CMD/IN
B711 DIA/DX-4C	C545 ARRCOM	F403 AF SYSTEMS CMD/INA
B731 DIA/DX-6	C562 TRANS SCHOOL	FAOR AF WEAPONS LARIND
B737 DLA/RTS-2B (LIB) (2)	CS69 BRDFC (STRRE-JIF)	FA09 HO HSDAN
B744 DIA/DX-7A	C545 ARRCOM C562 TRANS SCHOOL C569 BRDEC (STRBE-HF) C620 SRD	E411 AERONAUT SYS DIV
B779 DIA/JSI-2B	C623 USAOG (4)	E412 SA-ALC-IN
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